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LETTER DATED 19 JUNE 1994 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. Since the breakdown of the peace process in Rwanda in the wake of the tragic events of 6 April 1994, I have reported to the Security Council on several occasions, repeatedly stressing the need for an urgent and coordinated response by the international community to the genocide which has engulfed that country.

2. The Security Council initially decided, by its resolution 912 (1994) adopted on 21 April 1994, to adjust the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and to reduce its strength to 270 all ranks. However, in my letter of 29 April to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/518), I pointed out that the situation had deteriorated to the point where it had become necessary to consider what further action the Council could take, or authorize Member States to take, in order to contribute to the restoration of law and order, to end the wanton violence and massacres of defenceless civilians and to promote a cease-fire.

3. On the basis of my report of 13 May (S/1994/565), the Security Council adopted resolution 918 (1994) on 17 May 1994, authorizing the expansion of the force level of UNAMIR up to 5,500 troops and expanding its mandate to contribute to the security and protection of civilians at risk as well as to provide security and support for humanitarian relief operations. The Council requested me, as a first phase, to immediately bring up to full strength the mechanized infantry battalion already in Rwanda, and further requested me to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment.

4. On the basis of a further report which I submitted to the Security Council on 31 May (S/1994/640), following the visit of a special mission from Headquarters to Rwanda, the Council adopted resolution 925 (1994) on 8 June 1994, in which it endorsed my proposals for the simultaneous deployment of the first and second phases of the expanded operation and for the continuation of urgent preparations for the deployment of the third phase. As of 18 June, UNAMIR consisted of a total force of 503 all ranks (354 troops, 25 military staff personnel and 124 military observers) under the command of Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire. Two Canadian C-130 aircraft are also supporting the mission. I must again reiterate my admiration for the dedication and courage of all UNAMIR personnel, despite serious casualties.

5. In anticipation of the expansion of the mandate of UNAMIR, I had written, on 30 April, to a number of Heads of State in Africa to encourage them to provide troops, and to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), asking him to support my requests. I pursued my efforts through numerous contacts with Heads of State and Government during my visit to South Africa in early May, and with African leaders at the OAU Summit conference in Tunis earlier this month. At the same time, the Secretariat had already commenced efforts to secure the equipment and troops required by UNAMIR for the implementation of the first and second phases. Accordingly, over 50 potential contributing countries were approached.

6. To date, the United Nations has received offers for the following:

- Ethiopia: motorized infantry battalion (fully equipped);
- Ghana: mechanized infantry battalion (offer not yet confirmed and made on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Senegal: mechanized infantry battalion (offer not yet confirmed and made on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Zambia: motorized infantry battalion (on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Zimbabwe: motorized infantry battalion (on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Congo: infantry company (on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Malawi: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Mali: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Nigeria: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Italy: 1 aircraft (most probably C-130, not to fly into Rwandese airspace);
- Netherlands: 1 Fokker 27 aircraft (not to fly into Rwandese airspace);
- United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: 50 trucks for infantry and cargo;
- United States of America: 50 armoured personnel carriers (APCs);
- France, on a bilateral basis, has offered 20 million French francs to Senegal to cover the equipment requirements of 200 men.

7. Some countries have indicated an interest, but have not yet made commitments, to provide the following:

- Australia: 1 medical company;
- Canada: a communication company;
- Italy: 20 water/fuel trucks;
- Romania: a surgical team;
- Russian Federation: 8 transport helicopters and a number of heavy transport cargo aircraft.

8. On the basis of the offers for troops and equipment received so far, and of the discussions between the Secretariat and the Governments concerned, the United Nations expects, in the best of circumstances, to complete the deployment of the first phase of UNAMIR in the first week of July 1994. This envisages bringing the depleted battalion presently in Kigali to its full strength, for which confirmation of the offer from Ghana is expected. Meanwhile, 10 APCs, which are being transferred from the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), have already started arriving in Rwanda as part of the deployment of the first phase. In addition, the United States will start airlifting 50 APCs to Entebbe, Uganda, on 24 June.

9. The deployment schedule for the second phase of the expanded operation, which was intended to be synchronized with the first phase, cannot be determined at this time. Final confirmations of the resources required, namely two infantry battalions, a communications unit and other logistic support, have not yet been received from the Governments concerned. Moreover, the Secretariat has still not been able to secure offers for medical and other support units. In the absence of firm commitments for military logistic units, it will be necessary to seek a civilian contractor on an emergency basis. Such a contractual alternative already exists within UNOSOM II and it would be extended to UNAMIR until the necessary logistic support from Governments can be secured.

10. In the conditions prevailing in Rwanda, it is clear that additional troops can only be deployed once the necessary equipment to support them is on the ground and after the troops have been trained to use the equipment with which they may not be familiar. It also is noteworthy that, although Governments are expected to offer fully trained and equipped units for United Nations operations, almost all offers received from Governments are conditional in one way or another. The difficulties that the Secretariat has faced in securing resources for UNAMIR's expanded mandate show that there is no guarantee that the stipulated conditions can be met. Even if they can, protracted negotiations will be required, not only with the Governments making these conditional offers, but also with other Member States. In this context, it should be noted that none of those Governments possessing the capacity to provide fully trained and equipped military units have offered so far to do so for the implementation of the Security Council's resolutions to deal with the situation in Rwanda.

11. In the light of the above, it is evident that, with the failure of Member States to promptly provide the resources necessary for the implementation of its expanded mandate, UNAMIR may not be in a position, for about three months, to fully undertake the tasks entrusted to it by those resolutions. Meanwhile, the situation in Rwanda has continued to deteriorate and the killing of innocent civilians has not been stopped. Furthermore, the parties have not yet come to an agreement for a cease-fire in the talks under UNAMIR auspices, nor have they respected the cease-fire to which they agreed at the recent OAU summit in Tunis.

12. In these circumstances, the Security Council may wish to consider the offer of the Government of France to undertake, subject to Security Council authorization, a French-commanded multinational operation in conjunction with other Member States, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to assure the security and protection of displaced persons and civilians at risk in Rwanda. Such an operation was one of the options envisaged in my letter of 29 April (S/1994/518) and a precedent exists for it in the United States-led operation Unified Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF) which was deployed in Somalia in December 1992. If the Council decides to authorize an operation on these lines, I consider it would be necessary for it to request the Governments concerned to commit themselves to maintain their troops in Rwanda until UNAMIR is brought up to the necessary strength to take over from the multinational force and the latter has created conditions in which a peace-keeping force operating under Chapter VI of the Charter would have the capacity to carry out its mandate. This would imply that the multinational force should remain deployed for a minimum period of three months.

13. The activities of the multinational force and UNAMIR would be closely coordinated by the respective force commanders, who would take into account the fact that the former would be operating under Chapter VII of the Charter. UNAMIR would continue to fulfil, to the extent permitted by the resources made available to it, its mandated responsibilities in and around Kigali and at the airport. It would also continue to assist in providing support for the delivery of humanitarian aid to accessible areas. During this period, UNAMIR would operate on the assumption that the parties will cooperate with the activities of the mission. However, in the event that the safety and security of UNAMIR personnel were to be jeopardized, I would immediately reassess the situation and make appropriate recommendations to the Security Council.

14. It is self-evident that the efforts by the international community to restore stability in Rwanda, both by halting the genocide and by securing a cease-fire, are directed to a resumption of the Arusha peace process. In this connection, as the Security Council is aware, my new Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan, plans to take up his assignment shortly.

15. I should be grateful if you would bring the contents of the present letter to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

(Signed) Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI